

Message Text

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ACTION ACDA-10

INFO OCT-01 ERDA-05 CIAE-00 EUR-12 H-01 INR-07 IO-13
L-03 NSAE-00 OIC-02 OMB-01 PA-01 PM-04 PRS-01
SP-02 SS-15 TRSE-00 NSC-05 NSCE-00 SSO-00 USIE-00
INRE-00 ISO-00 /083 W
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O R 011850Z APR 77
FM USMISSION NATO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2609
SECDEF WASHDC IMMEDIATE
INFO AMEMBASSY BONN
AMEMBASSY LONDON
USDEL MBFR VIENNA
USCINCEUR
USNMR SHAPE
AMEMBASSY PARIS IMMEDIATE

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 USNATO 1908

PARIS FOR SECRETARY'S PARTY ALSO FOR ASSISTANT SECRETARY
HARTMAN

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PARM, NATO
SUBJECT: MBFR: AHG BRIEFING OF THE NAC, APRIL 1

REF: (A) MBFR VIENNA 161 (DTG 311054Z MAR 77) (NOTAL)
(B) STATE 67040 (DTG 252317Z MAR 77)

SUMMARY: THIS MESSAGE REPORTS THE HIGHLIGHTS OF
THE APRIL 1 AHG BRIEFING OF THE NAC. MOST OF THE
DISCUSSION CONCERNED THE QUESTION OF TABLING
NATIONAL SUB-TOTALS FOR EACH PARTICIPANT.
KILLICK (UK) AND HARTOGH (NETHERLANDS) SUPPORTED
THE LOGIC OF THIS COURSE. THE UK WAS ALSO
INTERESTED IN HEARING THE RESULTS OF
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SECRETARY VANCE'S TRIP TO MOSCOW AT THE NAC
MEETING MONDAY, APRIL 4, SINCE THE DECISION ON
WHETHER TO TABLE NATIONAL SUB-TOTALS WOULD HAVE
TO BE LOOKED AT AGAINST THE BACKGROUND OF THE
OVERALL EAST-WEST AND US-SOVIET CLIMATE. KILLICK
ASKED WHETHER, TACTICALLY, WESTERN INTERESTS
MIGHT BEST BE SERVED BY NOT BEING VERY FORTHCOMING
IN THE AFTERMATH OF THE SOVIET REBUFF OF THE US
SALT PROPOSALS. BOSS (FRG) SAID HE THOUGHT
THERE MIGHT BE A NEED TO GO SLOW IN THE LIGHT OF

THE MOSCOW TALKS. HOWEVER, HARTOGH STRESSED THAT REGARDLESS OF WHAT HAPPENED IN MOSCOW, IT IS NECESSARY TO LOOK AT THE QUESTION OF TABLING NATIONAL SUB-TOTALS FROM THE VIEWPOINT PARTICULARLY OF THE IMPACT ON PUBLIC OPINION. IT WAS CLEAR FROM THE NAC DISCUSSION THAT THE ALLIES WILL BE SEEKING US VIEWS ON HOW TO PROCEED ON THE DATA ISSUE IN LIGHT OF THE OUTCOME OF THE MOSCOW TALKS DURING ASSISTANT SECRETARY HARTMAN'S BRIEFING OF THE NAC ON MONDAY, APRIL 4. END SUMMARY.

1. THE NAC ON APRIL 1 RECEIVED A REGULAR BRIEFING FROM THE AHG. PRINCIPAL AHG SPOKESMAN WAS AMBASSADOR SMOLDEREN (BELGIUM). HE WAS ASSISTED BY AMBASSADOR RESOR, AND BY MR. SVANE (DANISH DEP REP). SMOLDEREN, IN HIS PREPARED REMARKS, ADHERED CLOSELY TO THE TEXT IN REF A.

2. KILLICK EMPHASIZED THAT SOLUTION OF THE DATA QUESTION WAS BASIC TO THE WESTERN APPROACH IN MBFR, AND THAT THE CASE FOR TABLING NATIONAL SUB-TOTALS OF EACH DIRECT PARTICIPANT WAS SRTONG IN LOGIC. HE ADDED THAT THE UK ALSO ATTACHES GREAT IMPORTANCE TO THE VIEWS OF THE FRG ON THIS SUBJECT, AND WOULD IN ADDITION BE INTERESTED IN HEARING THE RESULTS OF SECRETARY VANCE'S TRIP
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TO MOSCOW AT THE NAC MEETING ON MONDAY, APRIL 4. THE QUESTION OF TABLING NATIONAL SUB-TOTALS WILL HAVE TO BE LOOKED AT AGAINST THE BACKGROUND OF THE OVERALL EAST-WEST AND US-SOVIET CLIMATE.

3. HARTOGH MADE A STATEMENT WHICH HE NOTED WAS UNDER INNSTRUCTIONS. THE NETHERLANDS AGREES THAT THE QUESTION OF TABLING NATIONAL SUB-TOTALS MUST BE STUDIED FURTHER IN SPC, AND HOPED THIS COULD BE DONE WITH SPEED AND DILIGENCE. THE NETHERLANDS IS IN FAVOR OF NAC GUIDANCE AUTHORIZING THE AHG TO SUPPLY THESE SUB-TOTALS. IT IS OBVIOUS THAT THE WP HAS REFUSED TO START THE DISCUSSION ONLY WITH US AND SOVIET SUB-TOTALS, WITHOUT THE TABLING OF SUB-TOTALS FOR THE OTHER DIRECT PARTICIPANTS AS WELL. THERE IS A CLEAR DIFFERENCE BETWEEN SUBMITTING INFORMATION AND ACCEPTING OBLIGATIONS. THERE IS NO REASON TO SUPPOSE THAT TABLING NATIONAL SUB-TOTALS AUTOMATICALLY LEADS TO ACCEPTING PARTICULAR OBLIGATIONS. EVEN IF A NATIONAL BREAKDOWN HAD TO BE ADOPTED AT THE TIME OF SIGNATURE OF THE AGREEMENT, THE OTHER SIDE COULD NOT OBTAIN POLITICAL LEVERAGE IF THERE WERE A SOUND DISCLAIMER, AND THE EAST

SEEMS READY TO ACCEPT ONE.
THE NETHERLANDS BELIEVES THAT THE ONLY VALID
REASON FOR NOT SUBMITTING FIGURES WOULD BE SECURITY/
INTELLIGENCE REASONS, BUT THE DUTCH DEFENSE MINISTRY
SAYS THERE IS NO DANGER.

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PARIS FOR SECRETARY'S PARTY ALSO FOR ASSISTANT SECRETARY
HARTMAN

4. BOSS SAID HE AGREED THAT THE DATA
DISCUSSION WAS ESSENTIAL, AND THE WHOLE QUESTION WAS UNDER
ACTIVE CONSIDERATION IN HIS CAPITAL. HE THOUGHT THE FRG WOULD
BE STATING ITS OPINION AT THE SPC MEETING ON TUESDAY, APRIL 5.
THE REPORT ON MONDAY ON SECRETARY VANCE'S TALKS IN MOSCOW
WOULD HAVE SOME IMPORTANCE IN BONN'S DECISION. HE SAID THAT HE
DID NOT EXPECT A SOVIET LEAK OF THE EASTERN PROPOSAL THAT EACH
DIRECT PARTICIPANT TABLE NATIONAL SUB-TOTALS.

5. IN RESPONSE TO A QUESTION FROM KILLICK, SMOLDEREN SAID THAT
THE EAST WILL NOT TABLE ANY SUB-TOTALS UNILATERALLY AT THE END
OF THE ROUND, BECAUSE THEY HAVE MADE CLEAR THAT HIS MUST BE
RECIPROCAL. RESOR AGREED, AND ADDED THAT THERE WAS NEVERTHELESS
A RISK THAT AT THE END-OF-THE-ROUND PRESS CONFERENCE, THE
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EAST MIGHT INDICATE THAT IT WAS WILLING TO TABLE NATIONAL DATA,
AND THAT THE WEST WAS UNWILLING. THE EAST COULD CLAIM THAT THEY
HAD THEREBY OFFERED TO BACK UP THE DATA WHICH WOULD FORM THE

BASIS FOR THEIR FREEZE PROPOSAL.

HE NOTED THAT FROM A NEGOTIATING POINT OF VIEW, WE CANNOT GET FURTHER INTO THE SOURCE OF THE DATA DISCREPANCY BY ASKING GENERAL QUESTIONS. THE TABLING OF NATIONAL SUB-TOTALS WOULD FORCE THE EAST TO ALLOCATE THE DISCREPANCY AMONG EIGHT DIFFERENT FIGURES, AND WHERE THE DISCREPANCY WAS GREATEST, THE AHG COULD CONCENTRATE. RE THE QUESTION OF COLLECTIVITY, HE DREW ON PARA 6, REF B (EXCEPT FOR THE FIRST SENTENCE) ON THE IMPORTANCE OF A CONSISTENT POSTURE THAT DATA EXCHANGE CANNOT PREJUDICE OUR NEGOTIATING POSITION.

6. SCHUURMANS (BELGIUM) SUGGESTED THAT THE WEST COULD NOW EMPHASIZE THE NEGOTIATING OUTCOME OF APPROXIMATE EQUALITY IN GROUND FORCES, AND QUESTIONED THE NEED FOR AGREEMENT ON DATA TO REACH THAT OUTCOME. SMOLDEREN STRESSED THE NEED, TO ATTAIN WESTERN OBJECTIVES, TO SHOW THAT THERE IS A PRESENT DISPARITY IN GROUND FORCES AND IF POSSIBLE TO GET THE EST TO ADMIT THAT DISPARITY. PANSA (ACTING SYG) ALSO NOTED THE NEED TO PURSUE THE DATA QUESTION IN ORDER TO HAVE AN AGREED MANNER OF COUNTING.

7. IN RESPONSE TO QUESTIONS BY STREATOR (US), SMOLDEREN THOUGHT IT WOULD BE USEFUL FOR THE AHG TO BE ABLE TO TABLE NATIONAL SUB-TOTALS BY THE LAST INFORMAL SESSION ON APRIL 13. HE ALSO POINTED OUT THE NEED TO RE-ANIMATE THE DATA DISCUSSION BY INTRODUCING A NEW ELEMENT. IT IS NECESSARY TO BRING THE DATA DISCUSSION AS FAR AS WE CAN, SO THAT WE MAY DRAW THE APPROPRIATE POLITICAL CONCLUSIONS.

8. KILLICK SAID THAT HIS AUTHORITIES AGREED FULLY WITH EVERYTHING THAT HAD BEEN SAID ON THE LOGIC OF TABLING NATIONAL SUB-TOTALS FOR ALL DIRECT PARTICIPANTS. HE WISHED TO POINT OUT THAT BY HIS EARLIER REFERENCE TO THE EAST-WEST CLIMATE, HE MEANT
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WHETHER OR NOT IT MIGHT BE THE BEST WESTERN TACTIC NOT TO BE VERY FORTHCOMING IN THE AFTERMATH OF THE SOVIET REBUFF TO THE US SALT PROPOSALS. BOSS SAID HE THOUGHT THERE MIGHT BE A NEED TO GO SLOW IN LIGHT OF THE MOSCOW TALKS. RESOR SAID HE DID NOT WISH TO COMMENT ON THE IMPACT OF THE MOSCOW TALKS. HE DID WISH TO NOTE THAT IF THE WEST DOES NOT TABLE NATIONAL SUB-TOTALS, WE LEAVE UNCHALLENGED NOT ONLY THE TABLED EASTERN DATA, BUT ALSO THE EASTERN OFFER TO PROVE THEIR DATA BY EXCHANGE OF NATIONAL SUB-TOTALS, WITHOUT THE WEST BEING ABLE TO CITE A LOGICAL REASON. HARTOGH SAID THAT IT IS TRUE THE ALLIES DO NOT YET HAVE US REPORT ON WHAT HAPPENED IN MOSCOW. HOWEVER, IT IS NECESSARY FOR THE WEST TO LOOK AT THE QUESTION OF TABLING NATIONAL SUB-TOTALS FROM OUR OWN VIEWPOINT, PARTICULARLY THE IMPACT ON PUBLIC OPINION. THE WEST HESITATED FOR MANY MONTHS AFTER THE EAST TABLED DATA LAST JUNE. NOW, HAVING FINALLY TABLED DATA ON TOTAL WESTERN GROUND AND AIR

MANPOWER, THE WEST IS HESITATING AGAIN. HE WAS NOT SURE THE
PUBLIC WOULD UNDERSTAND. THE WEST WANTED A DATA EXCHANGE AND
SHOULD FOLLOW THROUGH.STRAUSZ-HUPE'

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<< END OF DOCUMENT >>

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